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# P O L A N D.

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## A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE

EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH.

BY

GENERAL COUNT L. ZAMOYSKI.

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“The question is not, at present, of restoring Poland in all its integrity; but nothing will prevent its being done one day, if Europe desires it.”—*Emperor Alexander I. to Lord Castlereagh, at Vienna, 1815.*

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# POLAND.

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Bagnères de Luchon, Pyrenees,  
August 31st, 1861.

MY DEAR LORD ELLENBOROUGH,

Our excellent and common friend, Lord Harrowby, has sent me, by your desire, a copy of your speech as delivered in the House of Lords in support of his motion on Poland, and I now acknowledge both your kind remembrance and the very handsome manner in which you speak of my country. It certainly is not a small consolation to a people whom Providence submits to such prolonged trials to find that "their sufferings, their wrongs, their "grandeur of mind in adversity" should receive the acknowledgment of "every man who has the least "regard for freedom," and that, while on every occasion "they have maintained and extended their "military reputation so as to place it on a par "with that of any nation in the world," they have made themselves "respected even by those who "tread them under foot." If I quote your words in praise of our "chivalrous qualities," I do not in any way regret that you should admit and urge upon us the propriety of "frankly and fairly re-

“ceiving the advances of Russia,” when “made  
 “in a spirit of generosity,” since you add, that if  
 “ingratitude on our part would deprive us of the  
 “sympathy” we “now possess,”—“insincerity,” on  
 the other hand, could “never be forgiven in a  
 “sovereign.”

It is to you “a subject of astonishment that  
 “every sovereign of Russia should not have laid  
 “himself out in endeavours to conciliate a great  
 “and noble people;” and you say so “as the friend  
 “of Russia,” because you “recollect the noble self-  
 “devotion” with which, in 1812, Russia, to the  
 mutual advantage of herself and of England, re-  
 pelled a foreign invasion, and also because you  
 now hope that “the sovereign who shows such  
 “benevolence for slaves,” will “not be insensible to  
 “the claims which freemen have upon his consi-  
 “deration.”

Now, my Lord, with the sincerest respect for  
 your person, and gratitude for so much regard  
 shown to my country, I can with difficulty recon-  
 cile myself to the admission that you could be in  
 earnest when you indulged in suppositions which  
 the experience of a whole century, and, above all,  
 of recent times, in no way justifies. But it is not  
 on our side that the experience, to which I allude,  
 shows a permanent and inconsiderate resolve to  
 reject advances made to meet what you justly and  
 unhesitatingly call our claims. Far from it,—and  
 though a boy at the time of the invasion of Russia

in 1812, to which you allude, I too am "old enough" to remember how, in 1815, the people of Poland, after the failure of their efforts and expectations on the side of France, showed that they were ready "fairly and frankly" to accept, under the sanction of a European Treaty, an order of things far from satisfactory to their feelings. It was, in fact, the first legal sanction given to the partition of our country. Yet, we did not hesitate to accept a situation which still seemed to open a large field to patriotic exertion. In every part of old Poland, under each of the three partitioning Powers, the promise of distinct representative institutions, avowedly intended for the preservation of nationality, made it possible for every Pole to serve his country by all the means in his power. And with a manly trust in their own national spirit and in the justice of God, they, in every part of the country, made it the paramount object of their endeavours to show to the world that they do not cease to consider themselves as forming one and the same nation.

The Duchy of Warsaw which Napoleon had, in 1807 and 1809, framed of portions of Poland wrested from Prussia and Austria, then received the name of Kingdom of Poland, though by the same arrangement, one part of it returned to Prussia, to be called the Duchy of Posen, and another part was severed to form "the free and independent town of Cracow." At the same time,

however, it received a liberal representative constitution; no foreigner, no Russian was to be admitted to any office in it; its army bore the Polish colours and flag. It was my lot to belong to that Kingdom of which Alexander proclaimed himself King, and I say it with pride, I then, together with the whole generation of my age, setting aside all other considerations, earnestly prepared for the service of that King, which I considered to be, under the guarantee of Europe, that of my country. But what followed?—Alas! nothing but disappointment. Europe, after minutely debating and finally settling the new condition of the Polish nation, entirely dismissed the subject from her mind. Our Constitution was trampled under foot: a brother of the Tsar, appointed to be Commander-in-chief of the Polish army, was invested with discretionary power; members of the Legislative assembly were by his order arrested and kept for years in confinement. A Russian functionary was delegated to be present at the deliberations of the Cabinet, a man whose name has remained in the memory of every Pole as the type of the basest tyranny and of torture to mind and body. Yet, one thing was enough to inspire us with patience: Alexander had reserved to himself, by a special paragraph in the first article of the Treaty of Vienna, the faculty of annexing to his Polish kingdom all the provinces of Poland placed under his sceptre; and, accordingly during the whole of

his reign, he repeatedly proclaimed his determination, as much as lay in his power, to restore to his Polish kingdom its secular limits. This solemn engagement it was which outweighed the galling insults heaped upon us by his delegates. But his death took from us that last motive for endurance.

On his accession to the throne, Alexander's infatuated successor showed his "sincerity" by proclaiming that the Poles under his dominion must no more indulge in the hope of ever being all united into one Kingdom. Then came the long trial for offences in connection with the revolutionary outbreak which had taken place in Russia in 1825. The inquiry lasted until 1828, the whole country being kept in a state of alarm. A verdict of "not guilty" on the charge of high treason was unanimously pronounced by the Senate, acting as supreme court of justice in matters of State; but the members of that body were then forcibly detained in Warsaw during a whole year, *i. e.* until 1829, before the royal sanction was accorded. A few months later the Emperor Nicholas came to Warsaw for his coronation; but, on the very day when he took the oath to the Constitution of the Kingdom, he violated it by several acts, the very triviality of which made still more evident the arbitrary manner in which he was resolved to rule the country.

Such grievances in the midst of a state of Europe, which caused internal convulsions in every country and capital, produced the insurrection of Poland in



1830 and 1831, and furnished the Emperor Nicholas with the pretext by which, in the face of Europe, and without paying attention to the remonstrances of either England or France, he pretended to justify the annihilation of all that Europe had stipulated for Poland and that the Powers left in the possession of the respective parts of that country had solemnly pledged themselves to maintain.

Again, after a reign of terror which had lasted a quarter of a century, when Alexander II. ascended the throne, and at once displayed the humane disposition which you so justly praise, what was the conduct of the Poles at Warsaw, at Vilna, at Kamienietz, and wherever the Emperor chose to appear among them? They saluted him “frankly” and respectfully; but, as far as they were permitted, they everywhere expressed to him their wishes, AS POLES. He actually thanked them for their hearty welcome; but, in return for their frankness, he loudly declared to his subjects at Warsaw, that they must give up “their dreams:” “Surtout, Messieurs, point de rêveries!” “car tout, ce que mon père a fait, est bien fait;” and to those of the Polish provinces annexed to his empire, that he would take care that, both in the country and in Europe, they should be known as Russians, *not Poles*.

What wonder, that ever since, the whole population of Poland should have resolved, by every means in their power, to defend what is theirs both by the



will of God and by the will of Europe, as consigned in a solemn treaty, and acknowledged upon solemn oath by two consecutive sovereigns of Russia, and by the two German crowns, for their respective parts of the country? The Poles do not recur to arms, because they are utterly unable to procure any that could meet the overwhelming armed force in constant array against them. They, therefore, have recourse to *moral force* alone, evinced by the most peaceful manifestations, and made for the sole purpose of showing to their respective governments and to the world, at any risk and expence, that they yield to nothing but brute force, and await in implicit faith the justice of God and man.

I wish, my Lord, a similar feeling of faith in the ultimate triumph of justice may have inspired you, when you delivered the speech you had the goodness to send me; and I cannot do otherwise than regret that so experienced and high-minded a Statesman should, on behalf of Poland, appeal to nothing but the generosity or the well-understood interest of the Russian Empire. When the Poles are advised "fairly to accept" such improvements as may be "sincerely" granted and may render their condition less wretched, the advice may safely be acted upon, because in so doing they do not sacrifice any part of their right. To a certain degree, their respective sovereigns themselves, when withholding from them one part of the conditions stipulated by Europe in their favour, may be ex-

cused by present difficulties, though these must, in all justice, be attributed to none but themselves; and if it be wise for the Poles to be patient under these difficulties, because they must ever trust in the goodness and ultimate triumph of their right, I have just shown that, on more than one occasion, they have known how to control their feelings and aspirations, and have certainly shrunk from no compromise when there was no "insincerity" in the offer.

But, whatever be the respective feelings and disposition of the Poles and their present sovereigns, permit me to say, my Lord, that they neither can nor ever will be brought to a compromise through any advice offered by an intervening third party. No advice from without can, in any degree, supply the want of reciprocal confidence; of this, the parties must themselves be judges, while the sufferings entailed on both sides by the want of confidence may serve to diminish mutual animosities. Very different is the case of lookers-on acting as *public opinion*. Their duty is to examine what on either side is the right or the wrong; and it is, above all, the duty of the Statesman, a duty the more stringent if the subject of the quarrel may be referred to some positive law passed for the situation. But if the law infringed be consigned in a treaty to which the country of that statesman was a party, then, my Lord, you will acknowledge that to leave it unnoticed is tantamount

to abdication, or to actual complicity in the violation itself. Thus, in the case of Poland, a British Statesman does not act up to the mark of a positive duty, if, while appealing to the generosity of her rulers, he does not refer to the Treaty by which, at the conclusion of great wars and long negotiations, the condition of "the Poles, respective subjects of Austria, Prussia, and Russia" (Art. 1. General Act of the Treaty of Vienna in 1815), has been minutely settled between eight great powers, of which Great Britain was one. Those stipulations were far from giving the Poles what *they* regarded as their right. Yet, during fifteen years, they gave no reason to accuse them of not "frankly and fairly" accepting what, under those circumstances, and after having remained faithful to Napoleon I. to the last of his misfortunes, they certainly could consider as a fair allotment made to the vanquished. But did the three Governments, after pledging themselves to maintain "Polish nationality," did *they*, on their side, honestly and faithfully keep their engagement? Evidently not. Far from maintaining "Polish nationality and representative institutions" in every part of Poland, they did all in their power to destroy both the nationality and the institutions intended to preserve it. In various ways, in various degrees, at every opportunity, their acts, avowed or secret, single-handed or combined with their co-oppressors of Poland,—their treacherous fiscal measures, their criminal endeavours to set up class against class,

the poor against the wealthy,—would, ere this, have sunk in degradation, blood, and ruin, that nation which you describe as “a great, a noble and chivalrous people,” if the very qualities you kindly acknowledge to be theirs, with the addition of a religious feeling which has grown in proportion to their sufferings, and which in itself may be considered as our best hope and our best title, had not saved my countrymen, both from utter discouragement and from another danger far more likely to assail them, namely, the temptation to throw themselves into desperate attempts at resistance.

The Polish nation, in the course of this year, in every part of her ancient territory, by reiterated manifestations, no less peaceful than unflinching when repressed by organized massacres, has succeeded in giving to the world a spectacle which has deeply moved, not only “those who have the least regard for freedom,” but, allow me to say, still more those who have any regard for justice, justice in its double attribute, as international justice and simple justice between man and man. It has proved to demonstration that, thanks to her undying perseverance, the main object laid down in the Vienna Treaty for the preservation of the Polish nation is, up to this day, unquestionably obtained, since her “nationality” is still full of life, and, so far, the intentions which the powers of Europe had in view for themselves in the transaction, are also partly realized, since Russia, as you justly observe, still

finds the Poles an obstacle to "her advance beyond the Vistula, and would find it extremely difficult for her, if attacked, to maintain her position upon that river, while all the country behind her would be in flames." But who is to be thanked for it, except the Poles and their invincible spirit; while the criminal policy of three powerful governments, assisted by the indifference of the other parties to that Treaty, has done or attempted every thing that could thwart the object, extinguish Polish nationality, and deprive Europe of that element, the preservation of which had been considered a security to herself.

And now, my Lord, excuse my once more, with all due respect, confessing my surprise at seeing you, once a Governor-General of India,—that permanent object of Russian intrigue, and which she avowedly hopes to conquer,—express your anxiety lest "Poland's disaffection" should "paralyze" the action of Russia in "Central Europe!" I hardly conceive that by the very name, *Central Asia* should not have at once been forced upon your Lordship's remembrance, nor how a Briton could for a moment lose sight of the latter and of the immense interests of his country, unceasingly undermined in that part of the world, simply for the sake of securing to Russia the means of penetrating into *Central Europe*.

As to Central Europe itself, I wish, my Lord, you could read the minds of its Statesmen, I mean those of Germany; for I am much mistaken, if you



would see in them any anxiety lest Poland should "prevent the advance of Russia beyond the Vistula." Whoever reads history attentively, will find, that to the minds of the Statesmen of Germany, "the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy" has not at every period been "an object impossible to obtain ;" that in several circumstances they have considered it desirable, and have actually and loudly pledged themselves to realize it ; that in 1772, MARIA THERESA most reluctantly consented to take her share in the first partition of Poland ; that in 1792, Austria actually refused to take any part in the second partition, which Prussia earnestly wished to prevent, and for that purpose had on the 10th of May, 1790, entered into a close alliance with the King of Poland, until discouraged and enslaved to Russia by the then state of France, and, I grieve to add, the indifference of Great Britain ; that in 1815, Austria was a party in the secret quadruple Treaty, the main object of which was to wrest Poland from Russia ; that during the same Conferences at Vienna in 1815, the Prussian General, VON DEN KNESEBECK, exposed in the most forcible terms the danger threatening Europe, and above all Prussia, as long as Russia was permitted to aim at making Poland an instrument of aggression ; that in 1829, Austria, to save Turkey, put her army on the footing of war, and actually invited England and France to unite with her against Russia, offering to give up Galicia at once,—but alas ! England and France preferred



ordering their Ambassadors to accompany the Emperor Nicholas on his, neither rightful nor glorious, expedition against Turkey; that in 1831, she gave manifest proofs of wishing well to the Polish insurrection; that the Emperor FRANCIS of Austria then openly confessed to the Polish agent, through his own Minister, COUNT KOLLOWRATH, that “the  
 “crime of the partition weighed heavily on his conscience, and that he should feel happy to restore  
 “his share of it, provided it was returned to Poland,  
 “not sacrificed to Russia;” that, during the same year in 1831, Prussia took a decidedly hostile part against the Poles, but when reproached by France with not remaining neutral, answered: “Prussia  
 “must wish Poland, either annihilated or restored  
 “to independence; she must either germanize her  
 “Polish possessions while Russia in her dominions  
 “destroys Polish nationality, or be prepared to see  
 “them annexed to Russia, as was the case with  
 “Warsaw, which the original dismemberment of  
 “Poland had made Prussian;” that, in 1854 and 1855, when the Western Powers went to the rescue of Turkey, Austria not only took a menacing attitude, which leaves Russia embittered against her to this very day, but declared herself ready to take an active part in the war, provided it was at once carried into Poland; and that, in all the circumstances above quoted, what prevented the realization of the object thus desired by one or both the German Powers was, not the fear of the “disruption of the

“States of Europe,” but, I am grieved to say, the total want of foresight, to say the least, of the Statesmen of the West.

Therefore, my Lord, whenever your “desire for “the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy” takes possession of the mind of a British Statesman invested with power,—(and British Statesmen have of late, in a manner which honours them, proclaimed unanimously the certainty of that re-establishment),—then let it be once and for ever understood, that it is mockery to appeal to “the generosity” of rulers who have jeopardized their title to the parts of Poland conceded to them by Europe, by the infringement of all and every condition attached to that title. They must, above all, be seriously reminded of their obligations by Treaty towards Europe, and no less towards Poland; but, for that end, no further diplomatic correspondence needs be resorted to. It has been tried enough and in vain. The deliverance of Poland is not, for the present, an object to be pursued either by diplomacy or by force of arms. Let the present attitude and conduct of the Polish people serve as an indication of the manner in which their cause may be best promoted:—  
MORAL FORCE—the pressure of public opinion as represented by sovereigns and people, by governments, national assemblies, meetings, and the press; the uncompromising condemnation of the infringer of public law, and of every wrong-doer; the no less positive acknowledgment of the right of the wronged,

and the cheering encouragement to the latter to persevere in their passive resistance and faith in the ultimate triumph of justice. Such, to the best of my judgment, are the means by which Poland may and must, under God, and in His own good time, retrieve her national existence.

Yet, diplomacy may at once take one step towards it; the German Powers may thus be spoken to, "fairly and frankly:"—"The crime of the partition of Poland weighs heavily upon you, as well as upon Europe in general; the attempt to reconcile the conscience of mankind to that crime by the arrangements which, in 1815, were offered to the Polish nation as a compensation for the loss of her independence, and imposed on Austria, Prussia, and Russia, as the condition on which they might further retain their respective parts of Poland, was an experiment which has proved a complete failure;—thus the crime for which the atonement was intended, stands in all its magnitude; it weighs on the whole of Europe, but more heavily on the partitioners; it is to all of these a source of weakness, but the German Powers it places in a state of permanent danger. Poland may, by long suffering and by the abandonment of Europe, end in becoming a broken-spirited Russian province; that once accomplished, nothing will prevent Russia from annexing the rest of Poland, which Austria and Prussia will then be utterly unable to retain: Russia being in the very heart of Central

“ Europe, there will be no barrier left of any avail  
 “ between her and the West ; Trieste, Oldenburg,  
 “ and the Dardanelles will be claimed by her as  
 “ integral parts of the great Sclavonian race and  
 “ empire ;\* while Denmark may by that time have  
 “ fallen to Russia by the right of succession, given  
 “ to the latter by recent negociation, and by the  
 “ unaccountable consent of England and France,  
 “ now bound by a Treaty.” To such language,  
 however, the German Powers will necessarily again  
 answer by the question which, on several previous  
 occasions, and during the late war in Turkey, Aus-  
 tria invariably asked,—“ Are you in earnest ? Will  
 “ you, by the reconstruction of the Polish mo-  
 “ narchy, once and for ever set us at ease with  
 “ regard to the advance of Russia into our German  
 “ possessions ?” Satisfied on this point, they will  
 soon find, that to give up their Polish possessions,  
 will assure them safety and internal peace, and be,  
 not a loss, but a positive gain. Let Great Britain,  
 on her part, give proof that she now fully compre-  
 hends,—1st, that the suppression of Poland is not,  
 as was thought by her Statesmen in the last cen-  
 tury, “ an object of little interest to the commerce

\* A claim boldly insisted on by the Tsars, though clearly con-  
 tradicted by Russian historians, to go no further than Mr. Tre-  
 diakowski, Secretary of the Academy of Petersburg, whom the  
 Empress Catharine II. ordered to be flogged for disproving the  
 Slavonian descent of the Moscovites, as stated in detail in the  
 “ *Slavianski Sbornik*,” Petersburg, 1843.

“ of England ;” 2nd, that the safety of Europe does not make it desirable that Russia should be able at any time to advance beyond the Vistula, but, on the contrary, that it is an object of paramount importance to Europe that Poland should again be made, what during many centuries she was, the barrier against any invasion from the East into the heart of Europe.

When once the two German Powers are convinced that the British Government and people are determined to follow up these views, they will be found ready to join in any combination having as its necessary result the re-establishment of Poland. They will prepare the way by an honest and thorough-going accomplishment of every engagement contracted by them in the Treaties of 1815, as regards Poland. Six or seven millions of Poles of Galicia and Prussian Poland replaced in the condition stipulated for them in 1815, will be a fair beginning. Let Austria and Prussia be urged to adopt a policy, not of “ clemency and generosity “ towards the Poles,” but of justice and respect of international engagements, and you will be likely to obtain practical and beneficial results, which no “ counsel,” not claiming respect for Treaties, can realize, even when offered from the highest source, and supposing yourself, my Lord, to have the opportunity of “ approaching the Emperor of Russia.” But Austria and Prussia, before they act in open opposition to Russia, must be satisfied that Great



Britain has made up her mind to support and actually protect them.

Russia can have no hope, and therefore no inducement, for trying to conciliate a nation which is "a great people," a people indeed, of no less than twenty-two millions of inhabitants, whose patriotism at this day unites against her all classes and creeds in every part of the country, and whose "military reputation," earned in the defence of Christianity and Civilization, is not likely, by a series of most deadly outrages, to be tempted into becoming the vanguard of barbarism.

To the German Powers the benefit of a change of disposition towards their present Polish subjects will be immediate; it will be paramount in redeeming the character of those Governments in the eyes of the world and of their own people. By breaking off their alliance with barbarous Russia, which the partition of Poland fatally sealed, they will be admitted upon an equal and cordial footing into the community of the Western nations: the profit to Prussia will be perhaps the greatest, as nothing can more effectually protect her German possessions on the Rhine than her showing herself favourable to the reconstitution of Poland. By restoring unlawful acquisitions, or even by simply granting to her Polish subjects the full rights and privileges guaranteed to them by treaty, Austria will find herself at ease in resisting attempts at extorting from her what has long been in her possession, provided she



continue honestly to concede and extend such liberties as will satisfy the legitimate demands of the various nations under her sway.

In the above case, which,—I emphatically repeat it,—will benefit all the Governments and nations of Europe save one, Russia alone,—*i.e.*, her Government in its present mood and corrupt semi-foreign composition,—will be a loser. But Russia, *as a nation*, will find ample compensation for the loss of Poland: her fifteen millions of Polish subjects growing every day more disgusted with her rule, do not only, as you justly observe, “paralyze” any action of her beyond her present limits; they cause to the Russian people a far greater injury; they are made the pretext for a cruel and lawless policy extended to the whole empire, because it *must* be maintained in Poland. The Russian people will never be allowed to develop their undeniably great qualities, as long as their Government finds an excuse for despotic rule in the unsettled state of its Polish dominions.

When Poland is free and independent, then only will Russia be able to turn her attention to her own internal wants and immense resources. Then also, without encroaching upon the possessions of organized states, she may with facility annex the nomade tribes of Central Asia. They are of her own race—Mongols and Slavonians. She may justly, profitably to the human race, and with far greater facility, aspire to spread among them the benefit of Christi-

anity and of her own superior civilization, and thus become the link between them and countries still more civilized.

This letter has grown to a size far greater than I had intended, and I beg, my Lord, to plead for your indulgence; but I must add one word on France, to explain why her name has hardly been mentioned in this long argument. The reason is simply this: the French people, almost without exception, are from a natural and highly generous impulse and also from recollections dear to them, so invariably favorable to Poland, that whatever be the temporary policy of their Government, they will not at any time endure the sight of another power entering on a decisive and practical course likely to benefit Poland, without being roused, as one man, into joining in the enterprise. These feelings on the part of France may be the better appreciated as they imply no undue pretence to employ Poland as a tool of her policy. The Polish nation aims at independence, and her spirit leaves no chance of her becoming subservient to any foreign power. It was very likely this conviction which caused Napoleon I. to hesitate in restoring Poland to her ancient position in Europe, when by so doing, he could have secured himself, at least, a temporary success in his mad expedition to Moscow. Thus, my Lord, it may be said with certainty, and surely with no discredit to the French nation, that when,

of all the great powers, England shows that she has adopted a practical line of policy for the restoration, —first, of what is guaranteed to the Poles by Treaties, and ultimately of their independence—a French Government can have, as it were, no will of its own on the subject, it must, it undoubtedly will give to that policy the most hearty support.

England and France loudly professing that it is their united and deliberate determination to rescue Poland from her present oppression and to free Europe from the mischief and danger which that oppression entails upon her, will leave to the German powers no alternative and no more profitable course than to promptly prove to their Polish subjects their adhesion to this new policy. Thus will France and England answer the magnanimous call which was addressed to the latter in a recent occurrence by one of her best public men,\* when he reminded his country of “the duties they owe to the World” and to Providence, in consequence of the power “given to them of doing good without limit.”

Hitherto, whoever has attempted to speak of Poland—of her dismemberment being the greatest crime of the age, of her restoration to independence being the most desirable event for the peace and security of Europe, has been always met by the assertion that the cause of Poland was hopeless, and the restoration of an independent Poland an impos-

\* Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.

sibility. But, thank God, a succession of evidence has proved of late—and the two principal members of Her Majesty's Government admitted it the other day before the House of Commons, that, after ninety years of foreign oppression, to annihilate the Polish nation was a still greater impossibility, and that she must, at some future period, “resume her place among nations.”

It now becomes evident, and I am happy to see the conviction grow upon the minds of all classes, that “the reconstruction of the Polish monarchy” may without “any disruption of States” and with incalculable advantage to all of them, be realized with comparatively no very great difficulty. It requires one simple condition, viz.: that it should please the Almighty to direct the heart and mind of one man in Great Britain so as to make his country not only the freest, the most powerful and prosperous among nations, but also to make her power and energies weigh gloriously and profitably in the destinies of the world.

If I am not mistaken, my Lord, you accompanied, in 1815, Lord Castlereagh to the Vienna Congress. Perhaps you will remember that, in the course of these conferences, the Emperor Alexander said to the British Plenipotentiary: “The question is not for the present of restoring Poland in all its integrity; but nothing will prevent its being done one day, if Europe desires it.”

That day will come—Europe is sure to *desire* it, when England wills it.

Yes, my Lord, let England manifest a resolution to free herself and Europe from the ever impending danger consequent on the crime of the age, and she will—perhaps to her own surprise, certainly to the great surprise of many,—find all nations if not all governments, ready to join in the enterprise and co-operate in the reconstruction of Poland by such sacrifices of ill-acquired possessions as are commanded by justice and self-preservation. But no government can be expected to adopt this course until the people show their determination to be no longer passive, and prove themselves awake to the consequences of indifference on that question. These consequences are the more onerous and fatal to the Commonwealth of nations as the fate of Poland is far from sealed, as she is still full of vitality, and as the crime which destroyed her independence must be followed by an incalculable series of crimes before they can annihilate the national life unflinchingly defended in every one of the dissevered members of the country.

Of those crimes I shall only refer to one, which, in wickedness and extent of consequences, seems to me to surpass anything recorded in history. I mean that system to which I have already referred, the setting one class of the population against another, and more particularly, the poor against the wealthy. The system which, pursued in Galicia, ended in 1846 by a massacre actually organized and paid for by the authorities, is now openly



at work all over Russian Poland. A Governor-General (a sort of Viceroy) of Lithuania has of late been travelling from one end of his vast province to the other, collecting the country people in numerous meetings for the express purpose of informing them that there is *no end* to the benefits which the Tsar keeps in store for them, and that the delay is due to nothing but the intrigues of their landlords. Similar endeavours are daily witnessed on the part of the Russian officers in Podolia and the Polish Ukraine. Thus, all attempts made by the landlords to come to some final agreement with their tenants are rendered impracticable under a Government which seeks its own security in fomenting and exciting the worst and lowest impulses of human nature. May it not be asked, whether all the rules on which human society is based can thus, in the midst of Europe, be set at defiance without inflicting disastrous consequences upon the nations and Governments witnessing with indifference such barbarity and degradation? Prince TALLEYRAND, as the representative of restored monarchy in France, addressed to the Congress at Vienna a well-known note, containing the following words:—"Of all the questions to be discussed at the Congress, the King would have considered as the first, the greatest, the most eminently European, and beyond comparison with any other, the question of Poland, if it had been possible to hope that a nation so worthy of the interest of all others by



“ her antiquity, her valour, and the services which  
 “ she has rendered to Europe, and by her great  
 “ misfortunes, could be restored to her primitive  
 “ and full independence. The partition which  
 “ effaced her name from the list of nations was the  
 “ prelude, partly the cause, and perhaps, to a cer-  
 “ tain point, the excuse of the convulsions to which,  
 “ since that period, Europe has been a prey. . . .”  
 Thus, in 1815, the crime of the rulers of the North  
 was accepted as an excuse for the crime which had  
 brought the King of France to the scaffold ; and it  
 was the representative of the very brother of that  
 King who used the plea. If, then, such were the  
 consequences produced by the dismemberment of  
 Poland on the very foundations of society in Europe,  
 how much deeper and more fatal must be those of  
 the series of odious measures which are, as it were,  
 forced upon the Powers who, with their respective  
 portions of Poland, have inherited the heavy re-  
 sponsibility incurred by those who criminally par-  
 titioned it? The enactments of Vienna with regard  
 to Poland were chiefly made with a view to averting  
 those evil consequences. But their extraordinary  
 and exceptional character was such that the arrange-  
 ment could not stand the trial of time without in-  
 evitably undergoing a radical change in one way or  
 another. It was evident that “ Polish nationality,”  
 however guaranteed by numerous and minute stipu-  
 lations, must either disappear by mixing with the  
 various people under whose sway and influence it

was placed, or find, in the very violation of those stipulations, the means of preserving existence and ultimately retrieving national independence.

The recent manifestations of national life, in all parts of the country, growing more and more frequent and universal, and the more imposing for being unarmed while sealed with the blood of the inhabitants,—are such as to leave no other course to the ruling powers, but either to satisfy the wants of the people, or to exterminate them by means unparalleled in cruelty, extent and wickedness.

The latter course it is, my Lord, which threatens Europe with a “disruption of States,” through the horror and disgust which it must entail upon all existing Powers, and must lead to actual degradation the society which tolerates such atrocities.

The people of Great Britain may, by simply devoting an earnest attention to the matter, avert the miseries and shame which otherwise will be the disgrace of the present, as the partition was of the last century. The least of England’s glories is, that she numbers in her dominions 275 millions of inhabitants. Her highest merit in the history of mankind is to have given to the sense and observance of right the greatest extension, and the most solid foundation. In the accomplishment of that object she drew her vigour from that profound religious impulse which ever distinguished her among nations. The history of the Polish people, my Lord, is, no

less than that of England, marked with a strong religious character. The very soil of Poland was once proclaimed to be sown with the remains of martyrs fallen in the defence of Christendom. And true Christian feeling was perhaps never evinced in a higher degree than is displayed this day by the Polish people. Faith alone can give to a whole population that moral force which now causes the weapons to fall from the hands of the very hordes commanded to strike unarmed men and women loudly professing that they can and will no longer endure their present servitude. That faith in the justice and mercy of God, which from the Catholics and Protestants of Poland has now spread to the numerous and important community of the Polish Israelites, will, I trust, be duly appreciated by the people of Great Britain. They must see that a nation which, under such trials and without regard to variety of creeds, remains firm in her attachment to religion, is by that single indication, infallibly marked for a great and durable destiny; while its suppression is equivalent to poisoning the very sources of respect and allegiance to power and authority, not in Poland alone, but among all civilized nations. The people of Great Britain cannot but feel that such a nation is worthy of enlisting in the noble task of defending justice and right in the Commonwealth of nations. This great task, both at home and abroad, was throughout ages invari-

ably pursued by every Statesman of Great Britain, worthy of the name. Each of them considered it the special duty of his country towards the rest of mankind. May future ages never have to reproach her with a neglect of that duty !

I am, dear Lord Ellenborough,

With the highest regard and esteem,

Very truly yours,

L. ZAMOYSKI.

## APPENDIX.

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### THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, *July 19, 1861.*

THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH :—My Lords, it is but natural that the noble Earl, who for so long a time has taken so deep an interest in the condition of Poland, should have availed himself of this opportunity of bringing the subject under your Lordships' consideration, and it is a matter of much satisfaction to me that your Lordships should have an opportunity of expressing your opinions upon the question.

Undoubtedly the present position of affairs in what was once the Duchy of Warsaw is one of deep interest, and likely to affect materially the state of Europe. I have always entertained—as, indeed, I apprehend all those who have the least regard for freedom must entertain—a very strong sympathy with the people of Poland. They have been suffering now for a period of sixty-five years under the wrong inflicted upon their ancestors, and during the whole of that time they have shown grandeur of mind under great adversity. They have at all times under their misfortunes maintained the dignity of their national character. They have made themselves respected even by those who trod them under foot, and, above all, on all occasions, on every field and in every service to which they have been drawn, either by voluntary disposition or compelled by force, they have maintained and extended their military reputation, and have placed it on a par with that of any nation in the world. It is impossible not to respect so great and noble a people. It is to me a subject of astonishment that every Sovereign of Russia should not have laid himself out in endeavours to conciliate them, that he should not have esteemed it amongst his highest privileges to draw his sword at the head of their noble chivalry.

I speak not merely as the friend of the Poles, but as the friend of Russia. I discard from my mind altogether the memory of our recent misunderstanding. I look only to that long friendship, now happily re-established, which has prevailed between Russia and England for so many years to their mutual advantage. I am old enough, unfortunately, to recollect as if it were yesterday the invasion of Russia by the French in 1812. I recollect the noble self-devotion with which the Russians repelled the invasion of their territory, and the great service which they performed to Europe in the re-establishment of the liberty of nations. I entertain personally for the Emperor, as we all must, the greatest respect, when I consider that he has bestowed upon his people the greatest boon which is recorded in history as bestowed upon subjects by their Sovereign, and I cannot but entertain the hope that the Sovereign who has shown such benevolence for slaves will not be insensible to the claims which freemen have upon his consideration.

My Lords, the situation of Russia at the present moment is one calculated, I think, to excite anxiety in the mind of every statesman who takes a fair view of the state of Europe. The opposition to the Russian Government, unaccompanied though it may be by violence, which now exists in Poland, practically prevents the forward action of Russia—prevents her advance under any circumstances beyond the Vistula—and would make it extremely difficult for her, if attacked, to maintain her position upon that river; while all the country behind her would be in flames and occupied by a hostile force. Practically the action of Russia in Central Europe is paralyzed by her position in reference to Poland. Such a state of things cannot exist without causing very great anxiety. The balance of power in Europe is so extremely delicate that no one of the great States can be temporarily disabled without affecting the position of all. We may view with jealousy the power of France, and perhaps distrust her policy; but if at any time, owing to any unfortunate circumstances, by means of civil commotion and internal disturbances, the action or influence of France were temporarily paralyzed, the injury which would result to the several States of Europe would be greater than any which might be expected to be derived from her aggression in the pursuit of her ambition.

My Lords, in what manner can Russia re-establish her



position and again obtain the means of action? I know no mode in which that can be accomplished save by a frank reconciliation of the Polish people. Nor will I despair of that happy result being attained. I do not despair of it when I look to history and see that great States have had similar dependencies, and have maintained, with mutual satisfaction and advantage, the connection existing between them. I see that in distant times Naples, Lombardy, and Flanders gave their troops, their Generals, their most cordial co-operation, and their most devoted loyalty to the Emperor Charles V. And why? Because they enjoyed self-government—because they were happy under his administration—because he loved them as he loved the rest of his subjects—and because, when he went among them, he appeared as one of themselves. I see that at a more recent period the Hungarians, not only during the early times of Maria Teresa, but down to a late date, supported with devotion the House of Hapsburgh. Why? Because they, too, had then a separate self-government, and their position was rather that of an allied State than of a dependency. The Hungarians contributed to Austria for offensive operations 66,000 men, whose expenses they defrayed. Further assistance was always forthcoming in case of need, and when the enemy approached the frontier of Hungary every man rushed to arms. Again, I see in the history of this country that the English Sovereigns of Hanover, though generally absent from that kingdom, and though absent altogether during the last sixty years of their reign, could always count on the loyalty of the people, because Hanover was well governed and was treated as an independent country.

I cannot but think that the application of the same principles to the connection between Russia and Poland would produce the same results. Nations do not change their character—individuals may; and it is the change in the character of individuals which, I fear, has effected the difference in the Government of these countries, and has produced the present feelings of the Poles, so different from those existing in the other countries I have mentioned towards their Sovereigns. I do trust, however, that the time will come when Russia will desire to act in a totally different spirit, and that when so acting her advances will be frankly received by the Poles.

We know that the Romans always considered that their most powerful enemies were those who became their best allies, and why? because those enemies when subdued were well treated. It would be well that Russia should remember this in her treatment of the Poles. Nor let her suppose that a poor people must on account of their poverty be easily kept quiet. It is quite the reverse. There is no position more perilous than that of a Sovereign in the midst of a people which has nothing left to lose but its honour. Poverty is always dangerous. Poverty always desires a change. Poverty conspires. Wealth is quiet. Wealth never conspires. Wealth only requires that things should continue as they are, and that it should retain the advantages which it possesses; and if Russia gives to Poland self-government and the wealth which follows it, I cannot but hope that perfect tranquillity will reign there.

My Lords, I have said that I hope there will be on the part of the Emperor of Russia a frank offer of friendship to the Polish people. I am sure that in no other manner is it possible for his authority to be re-established amongst them. Generosity emanating from superior power is of all qualities the most influential in the government of a subject people, and never could generosity have a greater effect than when displayed towards this, one of the bravest and most generous of nations.

In the event of conciliatory propositions being made to the people of Poland, I do trust that they will be received in the spirit in which they are made. The Poles must bear in mind that that which they desire, and which we, too, may desire—the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy—is an object which it is impossible to attain otherwise than through the disruption of all the States of Europe. A disruption of that character more than fifty years ago brought the first Napoleon to the Vistula. He held out promises to the Poles. He used them. He drew from them their hearts' blood. And he deceived them. Do they hope that under any circumstances which may convulse Europe the France of the present day would act with greater candour and with greater fidelity than the Napoleon who then behaved so faithlessly?

Had I the opportunity of approaching the Emperor of Russia, I should most earnestly counsel him to adopt a policy of clemency and generosity towards the Poles. I

should with equal earnestness entreat the Polish people to meet his advances frankly and fairly. But I would caution both that, in whatever engagements may take place between them, the most absolute fidelity must be observed by both. Insincerity is the one crime which can never be forgiven in a Sovereign. Ingratitude in a people is a crime of no less magnitude—it is one which, committed by the Poles, would deprive them of all the sympathy which they now possess throughout Europe.

THE END.